industry,[1] and agriculture,[2] and to establish stable principles of economic policy.[3]

To remedy the above mentioned defects and to fill the gaps in the country's economic structure the government established a Directorate of Statistics[4] and directed its attention to the preparation of scientific and technical studies of the country's resources.[5] Finally, the government reformed the country's banking and monetary systems by creating, in accordance with the Basic Monetary Law,[6] the Money and Credit Council with the function of exercising monetary control; it laid down new monetary regulations inspired by the needs of the country and regulated the operations of bankers and money-changers. Reform included also the expansion of the Agricultural Bank's capital, the strengthening of its financial means and the extension of its operations to meet seasonal credit needs.[7] The question of medium and long-term credit remains however still unsolved.

13. To complete this brief survey of Syria's economic position in 1945, when the new national government came to power, it is necessary to give some account of general economic conditions.

1 Legislative Decree No. 47, of August 7, 1952 and amendments regulating Syrian industry.
Legislative Decree No. 138, of November 6, 1952 regulating industrial, commercial and free professions.
Legislative Decree No. 103, of September 27, 1952 relating to the encouragement of industry.

2 Legislative Decree No. 135, of October 29, 1952 and Regulatory Decree No. 768 of November 3, 1952 concerning the distribution of state lands.
Legislative Decrees No. 50, 51 and 52 dated January 9, 1952 and No. 81, 82 and 83 dated January 23, 1952 and No. 125 and 126, dated January 20, 1952 relating to the planting and export of cotton; Legislative Decrees No. 27, 80 and 106 of 1952 concerning the sale of Agricultural machinery and the combatting of agricultural pests and insects etc.

3 *Vide Syrian Economy 1953* - Government Press, Damascus.

4 Legislative Decrees No. 130 and 35 dated June 11, 1949.

5 Report by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, 1947; studies of irrigation projects, the Ghab project, Lattakia port project and the Aleppo water scheme; Mission of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

6 Legislative Decree No. 87, of March 28, 1953.

7 Law 77, dated June 28, 1951 which provides for the addition of LS 10 million to the capital of the Agricultural Bank; Law 126 which grants LS 5.5 million to farmers affected by losses; Legislative Decree No. 9 amending the Agricultural Bank Law; and Legislative Decree No. 97 which empowers the Agricultural Bank to extend seasonal loans etc.

operation of world trade in a way that has always worked to the detriment of the farmer. The Government has adopted and persists in the view that the farmers as a class are alone responsible for feeding the town population at reduced prices. The Government and its organizations like the O. C. P. and later the Mira have always forced the farmers to hand over large quantities of wheat at prices below the market level. Even the present Grains Office is doing the same thing in a different way. It stipulates that exporters of wheat should deliver to the Office half the quantity exported at 23 piasters per kilo in Aleppo, i. e., at a rate 25% cheaper than the market price. This reflects in the end on the price paid by the merchant to the farmer. This unjust imposition of the Office is in fact borne by the farmer and not by the merchant. If the Government feels its responsibility for the provision of enough wheat for the population at reduced prices, the burden should be shared by all tax-payers without distinction. The farmer should get the full market price and the deficit should be covered from the general tax receipts. This solution, while freeing the farmer from a chronic injustice, is not the answer to the price problems. Since the Grains Office has become a permanent institution, the farmer needs to know as far in advance as practicable what prices he is to expect for his crops. The major function of the Office should be not to devise means for collecting wheat from the farmer at reduced prices, nor to provide revenue for the Government by creating a monopoly of wheat export, but to stabilize prices and guard the farmer against sharp fluctuations from one year to another. This it must do by announcing its readiness to buy wheat at fixed prices for the next two crops, at least without claiming a monopoly. That is, the farmer should be guaranteed a minimum price for his next two crops and left to profit from free prices if the market situation allows it.

A concrete example of how Government policy is reducing the prices for the farmer, is the new decree authorizing the export of 200,000 tons of wheat against delivery of 100,000 tons to the Grains Office at LS 230 in Aleppo.

The exporter will proceed to do his account, in the following manner. The price paid by Italy is said to be $98 which amounts to LS 350. For three tons of wheat of which two are exported and one delivered to the Grains Office, the merchant will receive LS 930 or an average of LS 310 per ton. In order to make a profit of

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312 under way are completed, Syria would have under irrigation an area of
653 89,100 hectares additional to that already irrigated. Certain projects, including the Ghab, Barada and El Taf, will, of course, not be completed in the period 1955-60 covered by the mission's suggested program. Under that program, the total newly irrigated area will have increased by about 40,000 hectares by the end of 1960.

Planning of Irrigation Schemes

312 The planning, construction, maintenance and operation of all irriga-
653 tion projects (except the Ghab for which a special office has been created)
647 is the responsibility of the Hydraulics Branch of the Ministry of Public Works. At present the staffing of this branch is far from adequate to carry out a greatly expanded program. While the technical staff is supposed to number 78, including 19 engineers, the number actually employed is only 36, of which 11 are engineers. Temporary appointees totalling 23 bridge only part of the gap. The staff must ultimately be greatly expanded. It will take time, however, to train additional technicians; and the goal will never be reached unless the present inadequate salary scale is raised so as to attract competent recruits. Meanwhile, the Ministry will be unable to carry out the suggested irrigation program unless it utilizes every opportunity to delegate the planning and execution of projects to properly qualified private firms.

In discussing the Euphrates projects, the mission has already emphasized the importance of adequate planning and recommended the allocation of £S 3 million for the necessary preparatory work. Part of this sum should be used for the construction of a hydraulics laboratory which would be useful in testing models of all proposed irrigation structures. Through model testing it will be possible properly to design such structures as weirs, canal intakes and sluices so as to anticipate subsequent damage and to achieve maximum economies in construction. It would also be highly desirable to experiment with different types of canal linings. The concrete linings used up to the present are expensive and not wholly satisfactory. It may be possible to use the asphalt available in Syria to devise a lining which would neither crack nor be too fluid and would at the same time be more economical. The mission urges that a qualified foreign firm be engaged to make laboratory tests with this material under conditions simulating those in Syria.

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returning to become squatters among the ruins and cultivate patches of stony but fertile soil. Organization of this rather haphazard settlement and the establishment of a planned community based again on orchards and vineyards may prove a worthwhile undertaking. In the Djebel Druze, where living standards are low and emigration is difficult for religious reasons, a similar settlement should be tried, provided a suitable tract of land can be found. Here, too, conditions are favorable for the establishment of orchards and vineyards.

At present responsibility for settlement is dispersed. The Ghab Administration is entrusted with settlement in the Ghab; the Irrigation Service has the task in other newly reclaimed and irrigated areas; and the Ministry of Agriculture has the initiative for the dry-farming areas. The mission strongly recommends that responsibility for planning and coordinating all the work be vested in a single, independent Settlements Administration, which would also discharge certain governmental functions relating to housing, town planning and similar subjects. The settlement program will require a great organizational effort and a staff which only a single agency would be capable of mobilizing. One administration is also much more likely to apply the experience gained in the initial settlement work to subsequent ventures. The mission urges that such an agency be established promptly, so that the necessary planning may be immediately initiated. The assistance of a number of foreign experts will need to be enlisted to carry out the program.

If the four settlements the mission has recommended are established and the Roudj and a portion of the Ghab are settled, the total cost would probably be around £S 10 million. Under the mission's proposals, £S 5.5 million would be financed by the Agricultural Bank, and the balance met directly by the government. With these funds it should be possible to settle some 2,300 families or between 12,000 and 14,000 people.

Land Reform

While the settlement of state domain may gradually increase the number of peasant proprietors, Syria will also have to work out policies relating to land ownership and tenancy in the areas already under cultivation. In this connection it should be noted that Article 22 of the 1950 constitution calls for legislation to determine, without retroactive effect, "the maximum area of land that may be owned, exploited and disposed of, according to

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Latakia, which now has only an old diesel plant with a capacity of 800 KW, must have additional capacity to meet its rapidly growing requirements. The most immediate need can be met by the construction of a 2,500 KVA diesel plant. This can later be supplemented by the installation of a hydroelectric plant at the site of the dam on the Nahr el Kebir which the mission has recommended as part of the irrigation program.

Deir ez Zor, the center of the developing Euphrates river valley and the fifth largest city in the country, also urgently needs a new 2,000 KVA diesel plant. The existing plant has a capacity of only 915 KVA.

The reclamation of the Ghab will generate a considerable increase in general activity in that region and an attendant expansion of power requirements. To meet this need the mission suggests the installation of new diesel plants of 2,500 KVA each in both Hama and Jisr ech Choghour. It would be advisable to connect these plants with a transmission line running through the Ghab and capable of supplying power for construction throughout this area and for the villages en route. Jisr ech Choghour in particular will become the center of construction activity. The mission is aware that plans for the Ghab call for the installation of a 6,250 KVA hydroelectric works at this location. The power from this plant, however, will not be firm and is in any event not likely to become available soon. The mission considers therefore that a diesel plant which can be quickly constructed is necessary to meet the immediate requirements.

For the smaller towns and villages the mission has proposed only a modest program involving some improvements in existing plants to raise their capacity, and the installation of 25 small diesel units with an individual capacity of 200 or 250 KVA. The more rapid electrification of villages and small towns should, in our opinion, be postponed for the time being in favor of more urgent programs.

Government Direction and Supervision

To carry out the recommended expansion program it will be necessary to strengthen the Directorate of Electricity in the Ministry of Public Works. This directorate was established in 1953 to coordinate the development of electricity in Syria and supervise the construction and operation of power plants. The mission recommends that the directorate be provided with a staff of 10 trained engineers to enable it to carry out its functions adequately. Separate sections should be organized for the technical

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377 and administrative supervision of public utilities. Supervision ought to be
447 concentrated primarily on the utilities of the small towns and villages which are often substandard in their equipment and operation and are most in need of technical guidance in standardizing and improving their equipment. In addition to discharging its supervisory functions, the directorate should work out long-range plans, including a properly phased plan for the establishment of a power network which would be helpful in determining the location and size of power plants to be established in the future.

Electricity Rates[25]

365 As power production increases, there will no doubt be considerable
435 pressure to lower the rates now charged for electricity. The mission
655 encountered much complaint about their present level and structure. The rates charged for lighting in the principal cities do not, however, appear excessive by comparison with other countries. Electricity prices in the small towns and villages, on the other hand, are very high, but the generation of electricity by small diesel units and exclusively for lighting is inevitably rather expensive. The rates charged for electricity used as power are definitely higher than in many other countries. In Syria the power rates are often compared unfavorably with those in Lebanon in particular.

Nevertheless, the mission strongly advises against a general reduction of electricity rates over the next five or six years. An adequate supply of electricity is more important at this time than lower prices for electricity. The profits of the public utilities must be safeguarded so that the needed expansion program can be financed from their own resources. This is particularly true of the nationalized utilities of Damascus and Aleppo which have been earning considerable profits. With the anticipated increase in power generation and some reduction in costs of production, the mission anticipates that the net operating income of these utilities exclusive of depreciation allowances may reach a total of £S 60 million over the six-year period 1955-60. Most of this sum will be needed to finance expansion and pay the indemnities for nationalization. In this way the government will be able to conserve the resources derived from taxation and to borrow for other urgent requirements.

[25] See Annex G, p. 422.

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11 ADMINISTRATION

The substantial public investment and development program we have proposed will not only strain the financial resources of the government, but also impose an onerous and challenging task upon administrative resources. In our opinion this task can be accomplished only if there is considerable improvement in the organization, methods and personnel of the government service. It is no disparagement of Syria to conclude that the existing government organization cannot undertake a greatly expanded public investment and development program without a marked increase in the efficiency of its operations. Syria became independent only at the close of the last war and has therefore had only a relatively short period in which to organize an efficient government service. The government has already made significant progress, particularly in the fields of education and public health. To analyze its current shortcomings is not to depreciate its past achievements, but has been done to help work out recommendations which may better equip it for the larger tasks of the future.

These shortcomings may be enumerated as follows: (1) failure to attract sufficient competent people to the government service; (2) deficiencies in methods of operation, exemplified by excessive centralization; (3) inadequate planning and coordination; and (4) distrust and suspicion of the government on the part of the public. Each of these requires some discussion.

Considering its size, Syria has a considerable government apparatus. Excluding the army and gendarmerie, as well as day laborers, about 20,000 government employees were paid out of the regular government budget in 1952. Of these, a little over 15,000 were in the civil service cadre. In addition, various independent or semi-autonomous public agencies employed between 3,000 and 4,000 people. The total number of employees (excluding those of the municipalities) may thus be estimated at approximately 24,000.

Government salaries are very low. Even in the top grade of the civil service—a grade held by only 27 persons—the monthly salary ranged from a minimum of only £S 708 (about $198) to a maximum of £S 819.50 ($229). Only 4.7% of all the employees in the regular civil service enjoyed a minimum monthly salary in excess of £S 378.50 (about $106). Average

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647 annual salaries in the civil service were only £S 2,130 or about $600 per year. The salaries of permanent employees outside the civil service are even lower. Family allowances add somewhat to the compensation, but apparently no more than 10% on the average. At this level the government cannot expect to attract many capable people or to stimulate much zeal on the part of its employees.

High government officials often find some means of supplementing their salaries by serving on various government committees and boards for which extra compensation is given. Many government employees eke out a living by taking outside jobs. Some find it difficult to resist the temptation to use their official position as an opportunity for illicit gain. In recent years the government has recruited some promising younger men, primarily by the device of paying their study abroad in return for an undertaking to serve the government for a period twice as long as the years of subsidized study. Often, however, these people are waiting impatiently for the end of their government service to explore the opportunities for private employment. In many cases, too, they are not placed in positions for which their training and education have especially suited them.

Syria, like many other Middle Eastern countries, suffers from excessive centralization of government responsibilities. This tendency toward centralization is historically deep rooted. There is a great reluctance on the part of senior officials to delegate responsibility; and officials of the middle and lower grades have in turn been unwilling to assume responsibility whenever hesitant steps in the direction of decentralization have been taken. The fact that in Syria, government officials are held personally liable for expenditures, no matter how justifiable, which have not been properly authorized is frequently an additional deterrent to rapid, effective action. The inevitable result is that high government officials are excessively preoccupied with administrative minutiae and have little time for policy formulation and planning. The consummation of any official business generally requires a considerable number of signatures or approvals. Undoubtedly many of these cumbersome procedures were devised to prevent abuses but they certainly tend to inhibit action and their efficacy in accomplishing their original purpose may also be questioned.

Inadequate planning and coordination, as already indicated, are in part a by-product of excessive administrative centralization. In part, how-

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ever, the lack of planning results also from the fact that government officials have not been schooled or accustomed to look ahead and relate what is being done today to what must be undertaken tomorrow. The instability of government in the past has undoubtedly contributed to this tendency, and the fact that the government has been unable to anticipate the financial resources available has also discouraged longer range planning. Every ministry lacks a planning staff which can study the requirements in its field of action and devise a program to meet it. The Ministries of Education and Public Health, for example, were unable to formulate their requirements for consideration by the mission as part of an over-all development program. The Ministry of Agriculture has not had a staff adequate to weld many "ideas for action" into a practical action program. For the government as a whole there is as yet no machinery for planning, coordinating and supervising an investment and development program. Coordination among government ministries and agencies is often defective. Hospitals, for example, are erected by the Ministry of Public Works without consultation with the Ministry of Public Health. The Hydraulics Department of the Ministry of Public Works, which is in charge of irrigation, has inadequate contact with the Ministry of Agriculture.

In carrying out an investment and development program designed to raise living standards and improve public welfare, the government must overcome deep-rooted distrust and suspicion of its activities on the part of the population. Centuries of government neglect, indifference and even exploitation have bred this feeling of distrust which even an independent Syrian government has not yet been able to overcome. People tend generally to regard government as a negative force which taxes, polices and demands compliance with laws and regulations the purpose of which is frequently not understood. Government officials themselves often contribute to this attitude by acting as masters rather than as servants of the people. Officials at the local level, who have most contact with the people, are often indifferent and, where they are well-intentioned and anxious to do something, they are often insufficiently conversant with the problems or inadequately trained to contribute effectively to the welfare of the public. Thus most people are incapable of realizing that the government can and does operate in their interest. Any government effort to assist them in improving their lot is apt to encounter much suspicion and frequently, at least initially, an uncooperative attitude.

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Recommendations for Improvement

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In the light of the above analysis the following recommendations might be considered:

1. A commission should be established to make a thorough study of government organization, personnel practices and procedures. Among its principal functions should be to undertake a reclassification of positions with appropriate salary revisions and conditions of service, and recommend changes in procedures which would promote more expeditious transaction of government business. It should also pay special attention to staffing requirements, particularly since the government appears to be understaffed in the upper ranks of the service and considerably overstaffed in the lower ranks.[43] The personnel of the commission should certainly be partly drawn from outstanding persons in private life, and consideration might be given to enlisting the assistance of a few experienced foreign experts in public administration. Pending the outcome of the commission's work it may well be necessary to grant some interim salary increases, particularly in order to retain the services of government officials in the upper grades.

2. Since any fundamental reform and improvement of the government service will inevitably take a long time, the government will need to resort in certain instances to the establishment of special independent agencies. Such agencies should have their own salary scales and administrative regulations designed to ensure competent personnel and efficient operation. To an increasing extent the government is already utilizing this device as, for example, in setting up the Latakia Port Corporation, the Ghab Administration and the Council of Money and Credit with its Foreign Exchange Office. Even in these agencies, however, the salary limitations in key posts have tended to be too low to attract and keep enough able people.

3. At least as an interim measure, the government should consider contracting out as much work as possible. For certain major public works this is already being done. The Ministry of Public Works still has a tendency, however, to undertake too much itself. In the future, new road construction and even definite projects for road improvement might well be contracted out. If additional irrigation projects are to be undertaken, these works, too, might best be carried out by a private contractor. Even

[43] 80% of government servants appear to be concentrated in the three lowest grades of the service.

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certain programs which do not fall in the category of public works projects might be expedited with the assistance of private enterprise. Thus the government might consider contracting the more technical parts of the cadastral survey, which under government operation is taking far too long to accomplish.

4. A small commission should be established to plan, coordinate and supervise the execution of a development program. A draft law has already been prepared to establish a Permanent Economic Council and a Commission for Economic Development. The Commission would include a chairman and two economic and financial experts, all of whom would devote their full time to its work, and the Permanent Secretaries of the Ministries of National Economy, Agriculture, Public Works and Finance. Its functions would be to prepare a development program, frame annual or biennial development budgets and supervise and coordinate the carrying out of the program. The Economic Council, which would include the Minister of Economics, a representative of the central bank, members of the Commission and representatives of the business community, would review the Commission's plans and budgets and pass them to the Council of Ministers with its observations, and would also advise the government generally on economic questions. This scheme of organizing the work impresses us as sound and we suggest that a law along these lines be enacted. It brings the business community into the task of economic and development planning; it promises the creation of a professional group to do the actual programming and day-to-day supervision and control; and it enlists the cooperation of the established ministries primarily concerned with development, instead of superseding them.

The Housing and Settlements Administration we have proposed might well be fitted into this organizational scheme. It must be remembered, however, that the proposed development budget should be drawn up in close coordination with the regular government budget, since both must be fitted into the global financial resources available. Moreover, as we have pointed out, the capital or investment projects which would presumably be included in the development budget should in themselves be closely related to recurring expenditures of a developmental character in the ordinary budget.

Great care will need to be taken to ensure adequate supervision of the execution of an approved program in all its phases. The Development Commission, for instance, should be empowered to ask for periodic (at

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654 least quarterly) progress reports from the agencies charged with the execution of various parts of the program. These reports should contain information on rates of disbursement, physical progress of the work, difficulties experienced, etc. The commission should be enabled to deal directly with the various agencies involved and also to make recommendations to the Council of Ministers regarding the removal of any obstacles to smooth progress which may have been encountered. It should, above all, be responsible for ensuring that coordinate action is taken whenever several agencies are concerned with the carrying out of a project or program.

5. Gaining the confidence and enlisting the cooperation of people is vital to the success of any development program. Government officials must exercise considerable tact and patience in overcoming distrust and persuading the people that the government is really intent on helping them improve their conditions of life. The officials who carry out the programs at the local level, in immediate contact with the people, must have a sympathetic but not patronizing attitude and will have to be selected for their devotion to public service as well as their technical competence. Over the years many young officials will have to be trained to work among the people on such tasks as supervising agricultural credit, organizing cooperatives, providing advice on agricultural methods, etc. In large part, however, their work must be supplemented and aided by existing officials ranging from the village *moukhtar* to the *mohafez*, from the village teacher to the provincial health officer.

The new officials introduced to help carry out certain programs must be able to count on the positive cooperation of the existing officials. The latter in turn could provide more intelligent assistance and undertake more on their own initiative if they could be given a better understanding of local problems and the means of coping with them. In part this could be accomplished by requiring these officials to make more frequent tours and placing adequate transport at their disposal for this purpose. In part it could be achieved also by organizing periodic regional meetings at which problems would be discussed and competent technicians could provide information on measures that could be undertaken to improve village and town sanitation, agriculture, housing, transport and the like. At these meetings local officials could be briefed on what the government is seeking to accomplish and their positive participation in the program could be mobilized. This might help to avoid the tendency, apparent in a number

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of underdeveloped countries, of regarding a development program as simply a series of big projects or as something which the center imposes or confers on both the people and the officials at the local level without enlisting their active participation.

Conclusion

If financial and administrative difficulties can be overcome, successful achievement of the development program we have outlined should lay the basis for another period of economic expansion. The Syrian economy is fundamentally sound. Under the primary stimulus of private enterprise it has grown at a gratifying rate. Development has now reached a stage, however, where a program of government action on a large scale is necessary to provide the opportunities for further economic progress.

With the shrinkage of available new land, the government will have to carry out reclamation and irrigation projects at an accelerated pace and concentrate much more effort on assisting farmers to raise their yields. To increase productivity and enable the small farmers to share more extensively in the advancing prosperity of the country, it is necessary to carry out certain land reforms, organize cooperatives, provide much more agricultural credit and make government services available at the village level. The remaining public domain must be set aside for the progressive settlement of landless peasants in properly organized rural communities.

Storage facilities are required to improve the quality and reduce the cost of handling grain. New roads, improved road maintenance and better port facilities are needed to lower the cost of marketing agricultural commodities, and, to a lesser extent, of industrial products.

In industry, where development in the past has gone forward on a rather wide front, a period of consolidation has set in. The government must now adopt policies calculated to make manufacturing more competitive and must assist private enterprise in becoming more efficient and continuing its expansion on a more selective basis.

In the field of education, the emphasis in the future needs to be less on a further rapid extension of general educational opportunities and more on the adaptation of educational training to modern requirements and on the improvement of facilities for the acquisition of necessary vocational skills. In public health, where progress has been much less satisfactory than in education, the primary stress should be on remedying the uneven geo-

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Economic Benefits

The mission estimates that the gross value of the produce of the Ghab area will be in the neighborhood of £S 63 million annually, or about £S 47 million after deducting the amount already produced in the area in question. The production of cotton, maize, sorghum, rice and sugar beets is particularly likely to have a marked impact on Syria's balance of trade. It may be assumed that the output of cotton and cottonseed will in effect be added to the country's exportable surplus; the additional rice production may make Syria fully self-sufficient in that commodity; and the sugar beet production should permit a considerable import saving.

In addition to the project's contribution to an increase in national income and an improvement in the balance of payments, the settlement of farmers in the area made possible by the project will assist in relieving the present population pressure in the province of Latakia and particularly in the Alaouit mountains. In Latakia, for example, the amount of cultivated land available per person is less than 50% of the average for Syria as a whole. Settlers in the Ghab will be able to earn substantially more than the bare living they have been able to eke from the soil in the past.

Organization

The "Administrative Office of the Drainage and Irrigation Works of the Ghab Lands" was created in 1951, to be attached to the Ministry of Public Works until the technical work is completed. It will be responsible for the design of the works, award of contracts, supervision of construction, payment of expenses and for sale of the land. As parts of the project are completed, the Office will take care of the operation and maintenance of the dams and of the irrigation and drainage networks and will collect water charges. During the planning and construction period the Office should recruit and train staff to carry out the continuing operation and management of the project.

It is important that the policy, and the attendant operating and budget delegations, provide for the establishment and operation of the agricultural research centers and for a long-range educational and farm demonstration program; otherwise, it will be practically impossible to achieve acceptable land use in the area.

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available as required. More women are to be found in modern industry than formerly, especially in the hosiery and other textile factories.

The Syrian workman is on the whole better educated and more adaptable than his counterpart in most of the Middle Eastern countries. The availability of a large force of handicraft workers skilled in the fashioning of metals, wood, stone, textiles and other materials was of great value when the rapid expansion of industry began. As it proceeded, the government and the industrial leaders became increasingly conscious of the need for systematic vocational education and training in schools and factories; this has made considerable progress in recent years.

In Annex I an appraisal is made of the existing vocational (other than agricultural) schools in Syria; our recommendations regarding their extension and improvement are designed better to fit them to the requirements of industry as well as those of commerce and banking.

The private business world, as well as the government, has made its contribution. Most Syrian employers now recognize that successful plant operation demands an adequate supply and a small turnover of skilled labor. Some of the larger factories have instituted training schemes, some providing up to three months specialized training during which the apprentice is paid the full minimum wage. Most of the other factories and workshops have systems under which learners are gradually promoted from the simple to the more skilled operations.

There are nearly 200 industrial unions combined in federations in Syria, with a total of about 25,000 members. The federations and also a large proportion of the trade unions have mutual funds, derived in part from normal subscriptions of members, and partly from government subsidies. They are used for grants to members for medical expenses, hospitalization, extension of the legal periods of sick pay, grants to aged workers, unemployment pay and the like.

The Directorate of Labor and Social Services in the Ministry of National Economy is responsible for ensuring enforcement of the provisions of Syria's rather liberal Labor Code, supervising the trade unions, establishing and operating public employment offices and encouraging the foundation of private ones.

Wages are comparatively low. Minimum wages are fixed by local Minimum Wage Boards. A fairly representative sample of daily wages seems to be: boys and women, £S 1; unskilled men, £S 2-5; skilled men,

15: Khadduri S-4 (no date) 1951 MDl Syria MDl

The functions of the Court are: (1) to consider the constitutionality of laws, decrees, and any administrative decisions; (2) to conduct the trial of the President of the Republic and the Ministers; and (3) to examine the validity of elections.

For the purpose of the appointment, promotion, transfer, and discharge of judges or the various courts other than the Supreme Court, a High Council of Judges is provided, composed of the President of the Supreme Court, two members of the Supreme Court, and the highest ranking four judges of the Court of Cassation. The Council is set up to ensure that the judicial authority is kept independent of the influence of the Government.

The Constitution provides, likewise, detailed provisions for the division of the country into administrative units and for local provincial government and municipal administration. It also provides rules for the preparation of the budget and the procedure of its introduction to Parliament, as well as other measures related to financial policy. An interesting provision related to the economic development of the country is the establishment of a Permanent Economic Council for the purpose of formulating plans for the development and exploitation of the economic potentialities of Syria.

Probably the most interesting innovation of the Constitution is its Bill of Rights comprising 28 articles which define with considerable detail the fundamental principles of freedom and the social and economic rights of the individual citizen. The numerous provisions stressing liberty and equality of the individual and the freedom of the press may seem superfluous, but they are deemed worthy of emphasis in view of the authoritarian tendency in the administration since the establishment of the national regime.

Article 21 marks a radical departure from the principle of the existing social-economic system. In this article, property is defined as both "public" and "private"; and the State like the individual may possess property within the limits of the law. As to private ownership, "the method of its possession and disposal shall be specified by law in such a manner as to make it perform its social function." Further, no individual is to be permitted to "utilize his private ownership in a manner inconsistent

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242 tributed a 50 per cent decline in yields to insect damage.

248 In an effort to reduce this damage, the Ministry has employed an Egyptian entomologist and has bought 4,000 tons of insecticides and a large number of tractor-mounted, horse-drawn, and walking dusting units.

[656] The Ministry also has promulgated numerous regulations for controlling insects, calling for mandatory destruction of stalks after harvesting and a host-free period until May 1. All ginning must be completed by the end of April and all the gin trash burned. Planting seed must be sterilized by one of the oil mills through contract with the government. The government also requires all farmers to apply the recommended insecticides. If farmers do not comply, the government applies the poison and charges them for it.

CONTROLS

656 The government has appointed a Cotton Control Board, with head-
• 647 quarters in Aleppo, charged with the broad responsibility of stabilizing pro-
248 duction. The board is responsible for the enforcement of programs in seed distribution, insect control, crop control, ginning and marketing, and new regulations promulgated recently by the Ministry.

Probably the most significant of these many regulations is one limiting the land which may be planted to cotton. In irrigated areas from 40 to 70 per cent of the crop land may be planted to cotton and in dry-land farming areas, only 25 to 33 per cent. The Aleppo area is limited to 50 per cent of the non-irrigated land. The purposes of this regulation, according to the Director General of Agriculture, are to preserve a balance in agricultural

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Syria's newest cotton mill is an ultra modern integrated plant just completed in Damascus. The level of efficiency here is far above the average and as a result this mill is exporting about 20 per cent of its production.

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COTTON IN SYRIA

production, conserve water, concentrate cotton so as to facilitate insect control, and protect the cotton industry against the high costs and low prices that might result from over-extension of production. Farmers are required also to receive licenses to plant cotton from the local representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Cotton Board.

The only marketing regulations issued to date require that all bales show the name of the ginner, the identity, and especially the moisture content of the cotton, which cannot be more than 9 per cent. If false claims are made, the government can take 30 per cent of the cotton as a penalty.

It is obvious that the enforcement of so many scientific regulations and controls over a large area is going to be difficult without a large force of trained technicians and police.

The Director General appreciates that without adequate trained personnel it is not possible to make the regulations completely effective overnight, but he hopes, through education, to obtain the compliance of the producers.

Ambitious research and education programs, another responsibility of the board, are still in the planning stage.

PROSPECTS

It appears unlikely to expect any significant expansion in production in Syria until yields can be stabilized. A start has been made, but a more intensive research and education program is required on cultural practices (particularly irrigation practices), mechanization, and especially insect control, before much improvement can be expected. Such efforts naturally take considerable time, even when funds and technical assistance are available. Both money and know-how are limited in Syria.

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elementary schools are opened throughout the country. In addition, new classes and divisions were opened in the existing schools. Private schools were encouraged to open new classes, and special financial aid was offered for the opening of new private schools. Naturally, most of this effort was spent in the larger cities where most of the French schools had existed. Public secondary-school enrollment increased by 1,930 students in the six cities of Damascus, Aleppo, Latakia, Homs, Hama, and Tartus. Public primary schools had an increase of 6,718 pupils in the same cities, excepting Tartus. Private schools also registered large increases, an increase of 2,458 pupils taking place in the private primary schools of Damascus alone.

It is claimed that these measures dealt with the situation effectively enough to accommodate almost all the children who applied. Some secondary-school students, uncertain of being admitted to schools in Syria, arranged early to go to school in Lebanon. Because many of the measures were hastily improvised, they left something to be desired, but the emergency created by the closing of the French schools was met. It is with this state of emergency and the radical departure from French methods and influence in mind that the following description of the Syrian school system should be read.

Administration

The administration of public education in Syria, as in the other Arab countries, is centralized and is controlled by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry provides almost all the money for public schools, educates and appoints the teachers, establishes the curriculum, prescribes the textbooks, and holds public examinations at the end of the primary, intermediate, and secondary courses.

The organization of the Ministry of Education and its departments is set down in a special decree (No. 224, "Embodying the Organization of the Ministry of Education") and a special law (No. 202, "Limiting the Number of Officials of the Ministry of Education"), both of which were issued in 1945. The organization is shown in Chart XI. At the head is the Minister of Education, who is a member of the Cabinet and is responsible to Parliament for the educational policies of his Ministry, and, with the aid of the Director General of Education, for the proper execution of the laws and regulations. All decisions and instructions are issued in his name and executed under his supervision. The Minister has his own Private Bureau which handles his appointments, correspondence, and controls all papers and documents entering or leaving his office.

Next in authority to the Minister is a Director General of Education,

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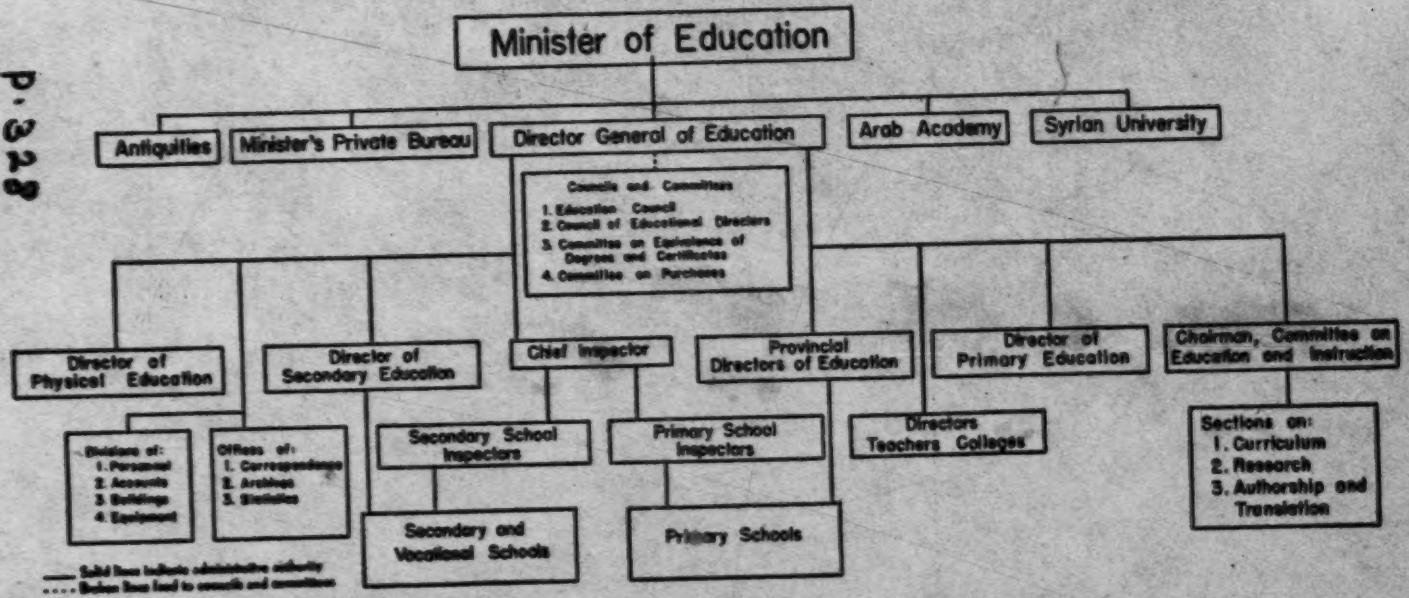
Chart XI

SYRIA: ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 1946



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who is the administrative head of all the departments of the Ministry and supervises the work of all the department officials and the proper operation of the schools. He appoints the officials of the central office and specialists in secondary and vocational education belonging to the second and third grades in the salary scale, and recommends to the Minister the appointment of officials of the higher grades. He is empowered to issue general notices and administrative instructions to help clarify ministerial instructions and to facilitate the running of his departments.

The Director General is assisted by three directors: the Director of Secondary Education who has charge of the affairs of all intermediate, preparatory, and vocational schools; the Director of Primary Education, who supervises primary and elementary schools; and the Director of Physical Education, who assists the Director General in organizing physical education, including scouting activities, sports, and organized games in and out of school.

Seven divisions and bureaus conduct the everyday business of the Ministry. The Division of Personnel keeps a complete register of all that pertains to the officials and teachers of the Ministry of Education. The Division of Accounts supervises the accounts of all departments, prepares budget estimates and is responsible for the execution of the budget law. The Division of Buildings, headed by an architect, draws the plans for school buildings and supervises all construction, repairs, and maintenance work in schools belonging to the Ministry. The Division of Equipment has charge of the central stores of the Ministry, of keeping textbooks and school furniture and equipment until they are distributed to the schools. In addition, there are the three bureaus of Correspondence, Archives, and Statistics, the functions of which are sufficiently indicated by their titles.

There are ten provincial directors of education, one each for the city of Damascus, Damascus Province (excluding the city), Hawran, Jabal Druze, Homs, Hama, Latakia, Aleppo, Jazirah, and Euphrates Provinces. These directors have charge mainly of primary education in their provinces and of supervising private schools. They are under the double jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, from which they receive their instructions and approval of their proposals, and of the governor of their province, through whom they issue their orders and conduct their correspondence with higher authorities. The powers of the provincial directors of education during the regime of the French mandate were very limited. They were then called inspectors of education. Even the appointment of a janitor to a post already provided for in the budget needed to be referred through the governor to the Ministries of Education and Finance and was not final

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until taken cognizance of by them and published in the Official Journal. Even the salary of the janitor was not paid until this publication took place, which sometimes stretched into months. This procedure resulted in delays in the appointment of teachers and was detrimental to their financial position and their morale. Efforts are now being made to expedite this procedure.

Side by side with the administrative machinery stands the inspectoral staff. Headed by a chief inspector, it consists of two types of inspectors—secondary and primary. The basic duties of inspectors are defined as supervising the work of principals and teachers of schools, guiding them into the better interpretation and application of programs and curriculum, showing them better methods of teaching, correcting their mistakes, and orienting their activities. They are further charged with keeping the Ministry informed of the conditions of teaching in the schools, the needs of the schools, and the activities and abilities of teachers and principals. They study the educational needs of the cities and villages and do publicity work for education among the people.

Secondary inspectors are appointed on the basis of the subjects in which they have specialized. They have their headquarters in Damascus and are sent to inspect schools according to a plan worked out by the central office. At the time of the visit of the American Council Commission, the inspectors of secondary schools were visiting schools as a team, each inspecting his own subject or subjects in the same school.

Primary inspectors are not expected to be specialists in any one school subject. One or more are attached to each province and inspect the schools of that province according to a program worked out with the director of education of the province. Special inspectors may be appointed for the special subjects—for example, physical education, manual arts, agriculture—and for private and foreign schools in the larger towns where these abound. Inspectors' reports are submitted in two copies, one for the provincial director of education, and one for the chief inspector's office at the Ministry. The provincial director then takes such action as he sees fit, based upon the report.

A third department of the Ministry under the Director General is the Committee on Education and Instruction. It is made up of a chairman and three permanent members, with power to elect other workers from among the officials, inspectors, and teaching staff of the Ministry. The committee is a professional body which is put in charge of making school curriculums, laying down educational policies and plans as well as school regulations; selecting suitable textbooks and books for school and public libraries;

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writing and translating books and articles and issuing educational periodicals; collecting information about educational systems abroad for the benefit of the Ministry and the school system and for the purpose of establishing the equivalence of degrees and diplomas; preparing and studying statistics about the school system; preparing plans and courses for teachers institutes and conferences; conducting educational experiments; and, finally, studying any professional question laid before it by the Ministry. The committee is supposed to include a representative of each of the important fields of specialization, each mastering "one of the languages of world culture to ensure that the committee shall have access to the most important cultural and educational publications appearing in Europe or America." Each member is required to teach no more than four periods a week in one of the teachers colleges and is empowered to visit schools. The committee is divided into three sections: one on curriculum, one on educational research, and one on translation and authorship.

In addition to the three main divisions of the Ministry of Education there are two councils and two committees provided for in the decree, with other committees to be formed by administrative order when necessary. These are the Education Council, the Council of Directors of Education, the Committee on the Equivalence of Degrees, and the Committee on Purchases.

The Education Council is composed of the Director General of Education as chairman, the chairman of the Committee on Education and Instruction, the Inspector General, and the section Directors of Primary, Secondary, and Physical Education. Its function is to pass on proposals coming from the appropriate departments with regard to curriculum, textbooks, the budget, proposed laws and regulations, and any other matter submitted to it by the Minister.

The Council of Directors of Education meets under the chairmanship of the Director General of Education and is made up of the Inspector General, the Directors of Primary, Secondary, and Physical Education, and the provincial directors of education. It meets once a year to discuss the school staffs and the educational needs of the provinces, to pass on proposals for opening new schools and expanding existing ones, distribution of teachers, and allocation of the budget among the provinces.

The Committee on the Equivalence of Degrees meets under the chairmanship of the Director General, and has as its members the chairman of the Committee on Education and Instruction, the Inspector General, the Director of Secondary Education, and a representative of the Syrian Uni-

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versity. The committee makes its decisions on the basis of reports submitted to it by the Section of Educational Research of the Committee on Education and Instruction.

The Committee on Purchases is under the chairmanship of the accountant of the Ministry, with two other members appointed by the Director General of Education. It has charge of all buying of equipment, of receiving bids, and of preparing the contracts of the Ministry.

Beside the Directorate General of Education and its branches covering the system of public education for the entire country, three other institutions and agencies are connected directly with the Minister of Education:

1. The Department of Antiquities is headed by a director who is under the jurisdiction of the Minister. It has charge of the museum of antiquities, supervises all excavations, and preserves archeological sites. Its regulations are incorporated in Decree No. 352 (1945) "Embodying the Regulations of the Directorate of Antiquities."

2. The Syrian University, which until 1946 consisted of the Faculties of Medicine and Law, was in the process of reorganization at the time of the visit of the American Council Commission. It is described in chapter 22.

[814] 3. The Arab Academy, which was founded during the Arab government regime following World War I, is a body of learned Arabists, which has its own assembly of members in Syria and corresponding members in other Arabic and Islamic countries as well as among orientalists. It holds public lectures, issues a magazine known as the *Review of the Arab Academy* which appeared first in 1920 and in which are published the researches and studies of its members. It also maintains a public library which contains about 20,000 printed books and more than 4,000 Arabic manuscripts. The Academy has at times attempted to lay down Arabic equivalents to modern scientific terms.

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Educational Finance

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Educational finance in Syria is centralized. The bulk of the expenditure on the schools and their equipment, on the salaries of teachers and janitors, comes from the budget of the Ministry of Education, which is a part of the general budget of the Syrian Republic. The Ottoman Education Laws of 1869 and 1913, which had remained the basic education laws during the French-mandate period, had provided that the expenditures of elementary schools should be borne by the local authorities. This, however, remained more a theoretical than a practical possibility in most of the Ottoman Empire. In Syria, some school buildings were provided—in Turkish, as in French, days—by the central governments, some by the localities or

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131 162 132 58. The Republic of Syria covers approximately 55,700 square miles and has an estimated population of 2,900,000 (including nomads 3,200,000), Arabic speaking and mainly Moslems. There is at present no problem of over-population. Much of the country is at present rain-fed dry land.

911 312 The total cultivable area is 12,500,000 acres of which about 1/3 is under cultivation. Many irrigation projects have been started or are in contemplation. The systems of irrigation do not expose the peasantry in the same degree as in Egypt to bilharzia and the climate is invigorating for much of the year.

241 231 59. Agriculture and cattle breeding are the principal industries. A recent government decree laid down that land not registered must be put at the disposal of the State, who will sell it at a low price in lots of 50 hectares. The land which is thus to be acquired is State Domain which at various times has been appropriated and cultivated by the big land-owning families. The areas involved are said to be 2.3 million hectares of cultivable land and 3.6 million hectares of grazing.

123 185 The land which is to be redistributed must be exploited within 2 years from the date of purchase and must not be resold, although it may be mortgaged to the Agricultural Bank. The Bank will give financial help for the purchase and development of the land.

60. The scheme has been criticised on the ground that in order to avoid a fall in production from the large estates now being cultivated through private capital and a stop being put to the further exploitation of hitherto uncultivated land, the Government will require to make provision for the supply of capital and expert advice to new peasant owners. A scheme for the drainage of a considerable tract in the Jezirah area, known as the Ghab Swamp, is being drawn up as a result of a survey of the area by a foreign firm of engineers. This will also require large capital expenditure.

61. The financing of land redistribution schemes is outside the scope of our mission as is the furnishing of expert advice on new agricultural methods for the more successful exploitation of small estates, except in so far as agricultural extension services can be combined with health and other services appropriate to community welfare organization.

62. The possibility of the Syrian Government's applying for outside technical assistance for any of the above-mentioned purposes is a matter of high policy which we did not feel justified in discussing with the officials whom we had occasion to meet during our visit to Damascus.

● 647 659 185 63. Dr. Joukhadar, the Director of Labour and Social Affairs, gave the mission the text of a project law (Appendix IV) that had been drafted in his department for establishing rural community centres, somewhat on the lines of those that exist in Egypt.

64. The Decree contemplates that in each province a model centre be established to provide all requisite economic, health, cultural, social and administrative services this being "the only institution that can undertake all the responsibilities and guarantee the success of a programme of village improvement which does not involve

ill-considered plans and avoid abrupt changes". A separate section in the Labour and Social Affairs Department of the Ministry of National Economy will run and supervise the centres, introduce local industries, study local conditions and implement a programme to raise the standard of living and promote local welfare. The Department will be assisted by an Advisory Committee comprising representatives from all agencies interested. Three bodies participate in the conduct of each model centre: one will consist of the staff members of the centre; the second the advisors to the staff members and the representatives of local administrative authorities; the third will be not one single committee but five committees of local residents, each to be responsible for a particular aspect of the centre. All will work under the supervision of the staff. The Decree defines the several units to be constituted for each centre and their respective responsibilities. 641 657 185

65. It is intended that when the Government has established a model centre in each province, the example will be followed in other districts by villagers who (as in the Egyptian prototype) will contribute to and share with the Government the expenses of maintaining a sufficient number of centres to cover the whole country.

66. The scheme which was inspired by the Cairo Seminar of 1950 had, we were informed, been discussed and agreed with other Ministries concerned and tentative arrangements had been made with the University authorities for their co-operation in providing the necessary personnel for the centres. Unfortunately, however, the project-law had not received the approval of the Ministers and Dr. Joukhadar gave no indication of any date for its operation. 242 185 474

67. On the introduction of Mr. Carroll Deyoe, FAO representative in Syria, members of the mission had the opportunity of meeting at the Ministry of Agriculture Mr. Akram Rakabi, the newly-appointed Secretary-General, who gave an account of agricultural extension work in Syria and of the development of agricultural co-operatives in the country. He foreshadowed a possible eventual use of the profits of these societies for community welfare purposes, but the movement is in its infancy.

68. Thanks also to the courtesy of Mr. Deyoe, the mission was put in touch with the local representatives of the Near East Foundation. In the absence in Beirut of the Programme Director, Mr. Eyer, his Deputy (Mr. Khoury) gave us the statement of the work of the Foundation in Syria which had been prepared for the recent Damascus Seminar which we had hoped to attend. Mr. Khoury accompanied us on his visit to Nashabeyeh one of the four villages in which the Foundation operates demonstration centres in agriculture and sanitation and in home-making, respectively. Mr. Sivaswamy has prepared a detailed account (Appendix V) of his impressions of the work done at Nashabeyeh. 242 185 744

69. The centre has been in existence one year. Its premises are in adobe houses such as are to be found in many villages in these parts. They have been simply adapted for their present purposes and the standard of cleanliness was pleasantly surprising. The staff consists of: (1) a sanitary inspector who looks after general sanitation, including mosquito control by irrigation and by drainage. (He makes a point of talking to the village people about water supply, latrines, etc.); (2) a nurse-midwife, whose duties are: ante- and post-natal care, examination of pregnant women, education of local midwives, regular supervision of the infants in the village. (There is no maternity clinic; the women are delivered in their homes); (3) a doctor, paid by the Foundation, who visits the centre once a week.